



The Way to Heaven: religious instruction in the seventeenth century through Jesuit board games

El Camí al Cel: instrucció religiosa al segle XVII mitjançant jocs de taula jesuïtes

El Camino al Cielo: la instrucción religiosa en el siglo XVII a través de los juegos de mesa jesuitas

O Caminho para o Céu: a instrução religiosa no século XVII através dos jogos de tabuleiro jesuítas

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Abstract: During the 17th century, French Jesuits adapted the well-known *jeu de l'oie* (*Game of the Goose*) for the purposes of religious instruction in their foreign Missions. These games consisted of a series of religious emblems arranged to form a spiral track, the movement of tokens along this being determined by chance, subject to particular rules. The earliest of these games, the *Jeu du Point au Point*, is analysed in detail, giving historical background and explanation of the emblems and their significance. Two similar Jesuit games are surveyed and compared with other religious games of the period. It is evident that the visual image played a commanding role in Jesuit education.

Keywords: Board game history – Jesuits – *Emblematics* – Religious instruction – France – Missionaries in Canada – Missionaries in Turkey – 17th century – *Art History*.

Resumen: Durante el siglo XVII, los jesuitas franceses adaptaron el conocido *jeu de l'oie* (*Juego de la oca*) con fines de instrucción religiosa en sus Misiones extranjeras. Estos juegos consistían en una serie de emblemas religiosos dispuestos formando una pista en espiral, cuyo movimiento de las fichas a lo largo de esta estaba determinado por el azar, sujeto a reglas particulares. El primero de estos juegos, el *Jeu du Point au Point*, se analiza en detalle, brindando antecedentes históricos y explicaciones de los emblemas y su significado. Se analizan varios juegos jesuitas similares y se comparan con otros juegos religiosos de la época. Es evidente que la imagen visual jugó un papel dominante en la educación jesuita.

Palabras clave: Historia de los juegos de mesa – Jesuitas – *Emblemáticas* – Instrucción religiosa – Francia – Misioneros en Canadá – Misioneros en Turquía – Siglo XVII – *Historia del Arte*.

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I. The *jeu de l'oie* and its spiritual significance in the Early Modern period

During the second half of the seventeenth century, French Jesuits adapted the well-known *jeu de l'oie* (*Game of the Goose*, *Jogo do ganso*, *Juego de la Oca*, *Joc de la Oca*) for the purposes of religious instruction.² These adapted games are the subject of the present paper.

The parent game is reported from the middle of the fifteenth century in its native Italy, but spread to many of the countries of Europe in the late sixteenth century, largely through the medium of printing. A simple race game, it is played for stakes – large or small - on a spiral track of (classically) 63 spaces, using double dice and without choice of move. A fast-paced and exciting game, it is known even today as a children's recreation, though in the Early Modern period it was often associated with gambling and/or drinking. For example, German examples from this period usually have a 'drink' space, with a goblet as symbol, though in France the game was regarded as relatively innocent compared with more dangerous gambling games.³

However, there is a strong argument that the numerology and symbolism of the game originally had a religious interpretation. In this interpretation, the game represents a spiritual progress towards paradise, where the favourable spaces marked with geese represent divine assistance in overcoming the worldly hazards along the way, such as the inn, the well, the labyrinth and the prison, which represent going astray from a good life. Even the 'death' space, placed towards the end of the track, does not result in a

² The generous help of Thierry Depaulis with the original French sources is gratefully acknowledged. Except where indicated, all translations are by the present author.

³ SEVILLE, Adrian. *The Cultural Legacy of the Royal Game of the Goose*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019, pp. 345-347 discusses the transition to a children's game.



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lost game: the rule is ‘start again’ – so giving an opportunity for amendment of life before the end. In many versions of the game, the final, winning space is decorated with the image of a garden, arguably representing Paradise.⁴

Important evidence for the interpretation as a game of life is provided by one of the earliest Spanish versions of the game. The leading historian of the Spanish *juego de la oca*, Joan Amades, gives as the earliest Spanish Game of the Goose known to him a seventeenth-century Catalan example in the Municipal Museum of Barcelona⁵ (figure 1).

Figure 1



Centre detail of the earliest-known Spanish Game of the Goose (from *Amades Fig. 1* – author’s collection).

Its track has 141 numbered spaces, plus the final arch of the winning space. The geese are placed on two regular sequences of spaces. No rules are given, so that it is not

⁴ SEVILLE, Adrian. “The Garden of the Goose,” *Garden History*, July 2021, pp. 33-52.

⁵ AMADES, Joan. “El juego de la oca,” *Bibliofilia* Vol. III. Valencia: Editorial Castalia, 1950.



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possible to interpret the hazard spaces definitively, though some of the traditional hazards are recognisable: the well, at 82; a stylised labyrinth at 98; and a death's head at 138. There are however further hazards, such as a barrel at 51, a decanter and glass at 64 and a wine jar and glass at 127, suggesting that this was a drinking game. The final five spaces before the winning arch all have images and appear below a stylised garden with four trees. Amades notes that the ladder at space 119 leads to a space [140] that he interprets as Hell 'next to Purgatory [space 141 showing rudimentary human faces] which in turn is next to the sky [presumably the blank arch] which leads to the garden'. He notes the figure hanging from a gibbet at space 135 and connects this with the path to Hell. A preferable interpretation is to consider the final spaces as providing a connected narrative: prison [space 137], death, burning of a heretic, Hell, Purgatory, then Heaven as symbolised by the Paradise Garden. It is of note that the arch leading to the garden is surmounted by a Christian cross. Comparison may be made with another 17th-century game noted by Amades (**figure 2**).

Figure 2



Centre detail of a 17th-century Mallorcan Game of the Goose printed from the original woodblock held at the Impresa Guasp, Palma de Mallorca.



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In this, the final spaces correspond to those of the earlier game, except that spaces 127 and 128 reverse the order of the images; and Paradise is here enlivened by music and dancing. The significance of the Game of the Goose as a game of life was appreciated by Ménestrier as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century:⁶

It seems that, in the Game of the Goose, it was intended to make a model of the progress of our life, subject to many hazards.

It would, though, be wrong to conclude from this that in the Early Modern period there was a widely-held symbolic interpretation of the basic game, of which images of geese are the distinguishing iconography. In most of the countries of Europe, it was simply a popular diversion (or gambling vehicle) for all levels of society, including the most exalted.⁷ In France, however, the basic game was used as a template for instructional games on various themes, beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century with games designed to teach History, Geography, Heraldry and the Arts of War to the sons of the aristocracy; but later new themes were added, to address a wider adult audience including women, and the teaching of social skills for girls was not forgotten. In addition, several games were produced for religious instruction.

II. The *Jeu du point au point*

The main part of this paper is concerned with undoubtedly the most remarkable of the religious games based on the Game of the Goose: the *Jeu du point au point pour la fuite des vices et pour la pratique des vertus*. The game sheet (**figure 3**, author's collection) is finely

⁶ "Il semble que l'on ait voulu par le Jeu de l'Oye, faire un Système du progres de nôtre vie sujette à beaucoup d'accidents." Claude-François Ménestrier. *Bibliothèque curieuse et instructive* VI. Trevoux: Imprimerie de S.A.S [Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur Prince souverain de Dombes], 1704, vol. 2, p. 196.

⁷ As witnessed by the splendid Indo-Portuguese boards offered as royal gifts, some being displayed in the recent exhibition, *Jogos Cruzados* at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, September 2022.

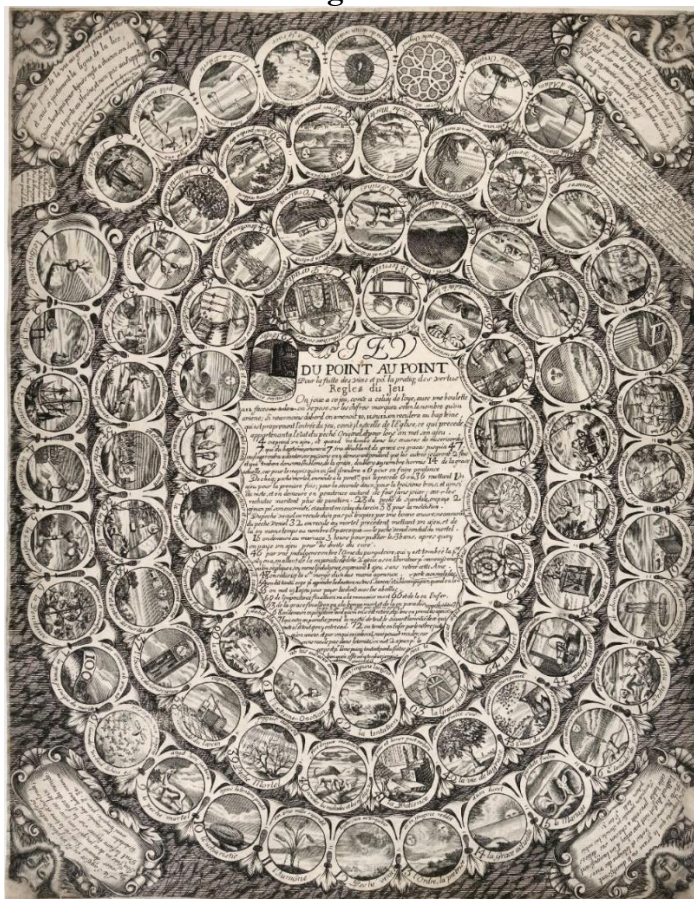


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engraved and of large format (66.5 x 52 cm). The Dijon imprint is that of Le Bossu⁸ and the dedication is to Mme de Rouville, Abbess of Saint-Julien de Rougemont.⁹

Figure 3



Jeu du Point au Point, Dijon: Le Bossu, author's collection.

⁸ Presumably Daniel Le Bossu, an engraver active in Dijon 1671-1678.

⁹ The convent of Rougemont, founded no later than the 11th century, was joined in 1667 to the priory of Saint-Julien-sur-Deheune, forming a single community renamed the Abbaye de Notre Dame et de S. Julien de Rougemont. The community was transferred to Dijon in 1673, and there the Abbess Mme. de Rouville built a new convent, St. Julien de Rougemont, in 1682. [*The New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2002] The dedication refers specifically to 'this magnificent building' [ce magnifique bastiment].

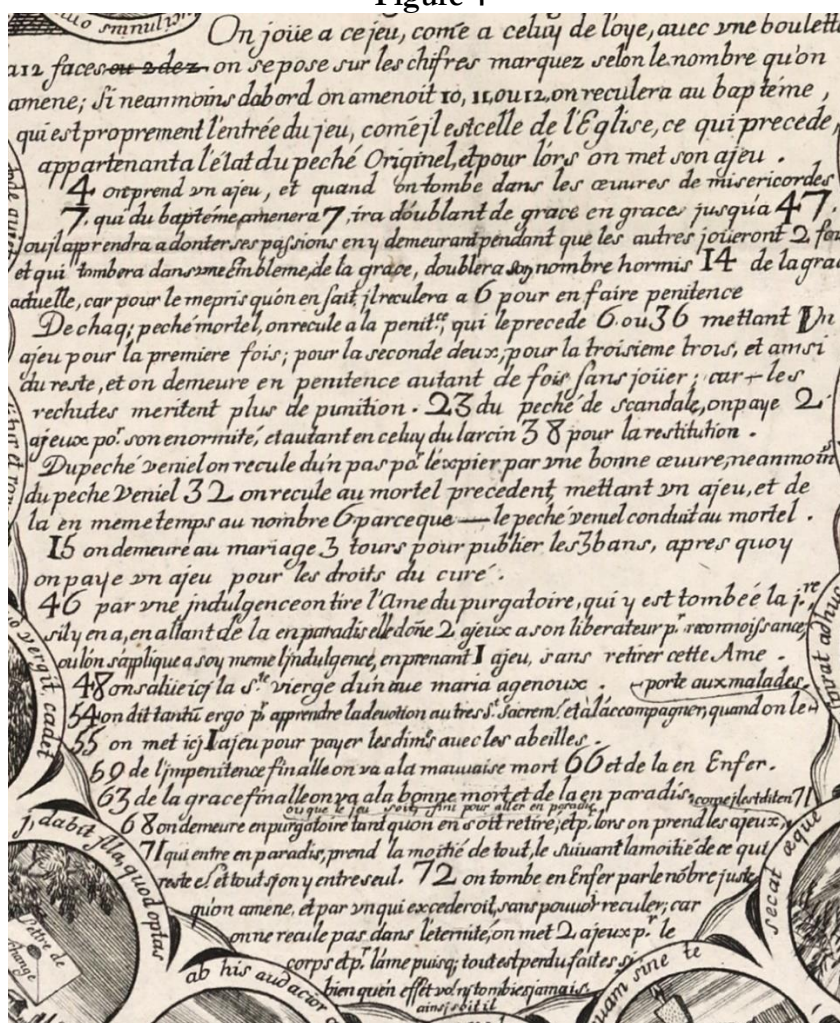


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The 80 spaces of the game are displayed on an anticlockwise spiral. The first eight represent the State of Original Sin following the fall of Adam. They are followed by the main sequence of spaces, numbered 1 to 72, representing the State of Grace, beginning with baptism and ending with death, heaven, and hell. Each space is named in French, and decorated with an appropriate emblem, for which the moral is given above the space in Latin.

Figure 4



Rules on the game sheet of the *Jeu du Point au Point*.



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The rules of play (**figure 4**) are given in the central cartouche – see *Appendix 1* for a translation. In summary, they provide that the game is played like the *jeu de l'oie*, using a 12-sided numbered ball to determine the movement of the players' tokens (the alternative of 'two dice' is scored out in the known example). The game is played for stakes: each player contributes one to the pool at the start, recognising Original Sin. Other contributions are set out in the rules, which are discussed further below.

III. Primary sources for the *Jeu du point au point*

There are three primary sources concerning this game:

A. An account of its invention in 1668 or thereabouts by a Jesuit missionary, Father Jean Pierron, and its successful use by him in converting the Iroquois to Christianity during his mission to Canada (then Nouvelle France) from 1667 to 1670. The account includes a description of the game (translated in *section 4* below), which he names as *Du point au point*.

B. The game sheet itself, reproduced by D'Allemagne as plate 13 in his monumental book on the French *jeux de l'oie*, with a description.¹⁰ The example (**figure 3**) in the present author's collection appears identical to that shown in the plate and bears the collection stamp of Henri D'Allemagne on its reverse side; no other example seems to be known.¹¹

C. A booklet in the Bibliothèque nationale de France entitled *Brieve explication du jeu du point au point, selon l'ordre des emblemes qu'il contient I. Sur l'état du peché Originel. II. Sur l'état de la grace*. The imprint is 'A Dijon, par Jean Ressayre imprimeur & libraire, vis à vis du College. M. DC. LXXXIII. Avec permission.'¹²

The present paper is the first to combine all three sources in a study of the game.

¹⁰ D'ALLEMAGNE, H. R. *Le noble jeu de l'oie*. Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1950.

¹¹ <http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=2440>.

¹² Digitised at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15208688>.



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The three sources do evidently refer to the same game, though not necessarily to the same version. The description in A. (see below) clearly refers to a hand-painted version, which Pierron intends to have engraved when he returns to France. There are some differences between Pierron's description and the Dijon game sheet: for example, he refers to the rules being at the bottom of the sheet, whereas in the version engraved at Dijon they are placed centrally. Nevertheless, the Dijon engraving B. is closely based on Pierron's game.

The Dijon booklet C. contains a preface to the reader, the rules of the game, and the 'brief explanation' of each emblem, exactly in the order found on the game sheet. Although no author is given, the first page of the rules makes clear beyond doubt that Pierron himself wrote it:

As I have included in this Game all the life of man, as I did for the Iroquois when I was among them, in order to show them their state and that of the Christian, I have also included therein the state of original sin, with which the Game begins; however, one can absolutely start the game at Baptism, which is the entrance to the Church.¹³

The booklet is an almost exact key to the game sheet. There are a few differences, however. For example, in the Latin moral tag at space 50, the booklet has *claud fores estoque domi* while the game sheet has *claud fores tuq esto domi*. A much more significant difference from the game sheet is that the rules have been re-written: indeed, some have been materially revised and improved (See *section 5*).

Given the space of 13 years between Pierron's return to France in 1670 and the issue of the booklet in 1683, it is likely that the game described in it was modified substantially from that used in his missionary work: indeed, the phrase 'as I did for the Iroquois' in the rules suggests as much.

¹³ "Comme j'ay renfermé dans ce Jeu toute la vie de l'homme, & que je l'ay fait pour les Iroquois, lors que j'étois chés eux, afin de leur montrer leur état & celuy du Chrétien, j'y ay aussi renfermé l'état du péché originel, par où le Jeu commence, quoy qu'on puisse absolument commencer à jouer par le Baptême, qui est l'entrée de l'Eglise [...]."



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The date of the game sheet B. remains to be inferred. The dedication to Mme. de Rouville and the Dijon imprint both suggest that it was prepared to celebrate her building of the new convent, St. Julien de Rougemont, in 1682, consistent with the date 1683 of the booklet C. However, the game sheet, although the emblems themselves are finely engraved, includes alterations and afterthoughts to the engraved rules that would indicate that it is not a version suitable for presentation. Not all the alterations visible in Figure 4 are necessarily on the plate – for example, the first insertion in rule 68, with its wandering line, may possibly be in manuscript on the sheet. Certainly, though, the unsourced date of 1640 given by D'Allemagne is not credible.

IV. The Invention of the *Jeu du point au point* by Pierron and his use of it among the Iroquois

The missionary work of Father Jean Pierron with the Iroquois is recorded in the various *Jesuit Relation* volumes¹⁴ and is well summarised by Gagnon.¹⁵ He arrived in Quebec in June 1667 and left to join the Iroquois in the following month. February 1668 found him back in Quebec, following a mission in which he seems to have played a secondary role. However, in his next mission, during 1668-1669, the use of his paintings to teach the elements of Christianity is noted.

Here we give only those extracts from the *Relation of what occurred in New France in the years 1668 and 1669* which are concerned with his game, in a translation of Pierron's words:¹⁶

¹⁴ [Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus : en la Nouvelle France : les années 1669 & 1670 : envoyée au R. P. Estienne Dechamps, provincial de la Province de France.](#) Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur du Roi, rue St. Jacques, aux Cicognes. M.DC.LXXI The game there named by Pierron as *du Point au Point* is described at pp. 166-171.

¹⁵ GAGNON, François-Marc. *La Conversion par l'image*. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1975, particularly chapter iv. Gagnon was evidently unaware of the existence of the game sheet.

¹⁶ [as summarized and translated in]: THWAITES, R. G., editor. [Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France](#), Vol. LIII. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1899. pp. 205-213.



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I am very glad to note here a means that I have found to be very useful and effective in the conversion of these Barbarians.

At first, I had thought that, in order to establish Christianity on a solid basis among these peoples, it was necessary to make use of reading and writing, which are two things wherein the Savages are utterly ignorant. I had accordingly applied myself, for the space of a month, to the teaching of both of these to the little children of our Iroquois; and some had already profited to such an extent that they wrote and read fairly well. But the small means that I have for furnishing rewards for the little ones, which must be given to these children, in order to hold them to this pursuit, and the little time that remained to me for the essential duties of my Mission, at last obliged me to think of some other expedient, which should be not less efficacious, and which should leave me more time for occupying myself in the duties of my ministry.

God inspired me with one, some days later, which is much easier, and produces great results among these peoples. It is a game, in order to catch our Savages by means of what they most love — for gaming constitutes their whole occupation, when they are not at war; and thus I hope to make them find their salvation in the very thing that used often to contribute to their destruction.

My design is, by this means, to do away with the strange ignorance in which they live touching all that concerns their salvation, and to make good their defects of memory. This game speaks to good effect through its paintings, and gives sound instruction through the emblems with which it is filled. Those who wish to divert themselves with it have only to see it, to learn all that they have to do in order to live Christian lives; and to remember all that they have learned, without ever being able to forget it.

There is nothing easier than learning this game. It is composed of emblems which represent all that a Christian has to know. The seven Sacraments are all seen depicted there, the three Theological Virtues, all the Commandments of God and of the Church, together with the principal mortal sins; even the venial sins that are commonly committed are there expressed in their order, with marks of the horror that ought to be felt for them. Original sin, followed by all the ills that it has caused, appears there in a particular order. I have represented there the four ends of man, the fear of God, the Indulgences, and all the works of mercy. Grace is depicted there in a separate Cartouche, conscience in another; the freedom that we have to obtain salvation or destruction, the small number of the Elect — in a Word, all that a Christian is obliged to know is found expressed there by emblems which portray each of these things. All is so natural there, and so well



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depicted, that the coarsest minds have no difficulty in rising to the knowledge of things spiritual, by means of the material Images of these, which they have before their eyes. It is thus that our Savages learn by playing to effect their salvation; and that I have tried to join what they loved so passionately to that which they ought to love still more, in order that they might find no difficulty in getting themselves instructed.

This game is called, 'from Point to Point,' that is to say, from the point of birth to the point of Eternity. Our Iroquois name it, 'The way to arrive at the place where one lives forever, whether in Paradise or in Hell.' Directions for playing this game will be given at the bottom of the card on which it will be printed. I intend to have it engraved, that I may have many copies of it, and be enabled, by this means, to render our mysteries intelligible even to those by whom I cannot make myself understood.

There are some of our Iroquois to whom I have taught it only twice, and who have learned it perfectly; and others to whom I have shown it only four times, who have made themselves so skilful in it that they have obliged me to play it with them. We passed the Easter Holidays agreeably with this game, which is equally holy and profitable. All our Savages have an extreme passion for learning it and playing it, either because they display in it quickness in easily understanding things that are so difficult; or because they see clearly that this game instructs them, without difficulty, in what they must know in order to be saved.

The experience that I have had with this new method, and the approval that several very wise persons have given it, make me esteem it highly. Perhaps the Missionaries of France could use it with excellent results among the country people, both in order to make them pass, in a holy as well as agreeable manner, some hours of Sundays and Holy days; and also to teach them, in a manner equally easy and sound, all the virtues of Christianity.

Each cartouche and each emblem can furnish very profitable talks that might be given to the people, as I show in the little Book that I have written thereon, which I would have sent to France this year, had it not been for an illness which prevented me from putting it in proper shape. I hope to send it next year with another Game — a worldly one — that I have invented for destroying all the superstitions of our Savages, and giving them some excellent themes for conversation, which shall make them lose all the pleasure they now take in entertaining one another with their fables.¹⁷

¹⁷ This 'worldly' game is not known.



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More details of Pierron and his work are given in a thesis by Thibault Finet,¹⁸ who devotes a chapter to Pierron's paintings and the *jeu de l'oie*. Like Gagnon before him, Finet is unaware of the existence of the game sheet. To give an idea of Pierron's graphic style, he cites a letter of 1669 by the Ursuline missionary, Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672):

He [Pierron] teaches by day, and by night he paints, for he is quite a good painter. He has made one in which Hell is represented full of demons so horrible, as much for their faces as for the punishments they inflict on the savages who are damned, that one cannot see them without shuddering. There is depicted an old woman from the Hiroquois [sic] who closes her ears so as not to listen to a Jesuit who wants to instruct her. She is surrounded by Devils who throw fire into her ears and torment her in other parts of her body. He represents the other vices by suitable figures with the Devils who preside over these vices, and who torment those who indulge in them during their life. He has also made a picture of Paradise where the Angels are represented who carry into Heaven the souls of those who die after having received Holy Baptism. So, he achieves what he wants by means of his paintings.¹⁹

Interesting though this is, we cannot be sure that this intense graphic style was in fact used in the *jeu de l'oie* provided for the Iroquois. Certainly, there is nothing of it in the Dijon game sheet, which is quite restrained in its imagery.

¹⁸ FINET, Thibault. [Jean Pierron \(1631-1700\): missionnaire, diplomate et peintre en Amérique](#). Université de Montréal, 2012.

¹⁹ "Il instruit le jour, et la nuit il fait des tableaux, car il est assez bon peintre. Il en a fait un où l'Enfer est représenté tout rempli de Démons si horribles, tant par leurs figures que par les châtimens qu'ils font souffrir aux Sauvages damnez, qu'on ne les peut voir sans frémir. Il y a dépeint une vieille Hiroquoise qui se bouche les oreilles pour ne point écouter un Jésuite qui la veut instruire. Elle est environnée de Diables qui lui jettent du feu dans les oreilles et qui la tourmentent dans les autres parties de son corps. Il représente les autres vices par d'autres figures convenables avec les Diables qui président à ces vices-là, et qui tourmentent ceux qui s'y laissent aller durant leur vie. Il a aussi fait le tableau du Paradis où les Anges sont représentez qui emportent dans le Ciel les âmes de ceux qui meurent après avoir reçu le saint baptême. Enfin il fait ce qu'il veut par le moyen de ses peintures" "De Québec à son fils, le 1er septembre 1669", in: Marie de l'Incarnation, , *Correspondance*, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971, lettre n°. 248, p.839-840.



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Gagnon traces Pierron's later years as a missionary, though some details are incomplete. However, he notes with disapproval an article by G. Morriset, claiming that 'one may think that it was an Agueronon drunk on fire-water who broke his head with his tomahawk.'²⁰ Indeed, the entry for Pierron in the index to the *Relations* compiled by Thwaites shows him returning to France in 1678 and records his death at Pont-à-Mousson in 1700 or 1701.²¹ Finet discusses the lack of firm evidence for this, noting that the official Vatican record says that Pierron died of pleurisy at Damas-aux-Bois, also in the Lorraine.

V. The rules of the *Jeu du point au point*

Pierron's game is structurally similar to its parent, the *jeu de l'oie*, whose distinguishing characteristic is a regular sequence of spaces that serve to double the throw. There, the spaces are denoted by the figure of a goose, spaced by 9, the 'ruling number' of the game. Here, though, the throw-doubling spaces are denoted by various aspects of heavenly Grace, in the emblems at 7, 14, 21 ... 63, so that they have spacing (and hence a ruling number) of 7. This is no accident: that number has profound religious significance, including of course the sabbath and the link with the days of the Creation. In the *jeu de l'oie*, an initial throw of 9 would appear to result in an instant win as the player would hop forward from goose to goose until the final space at 63. A special rule for that throw prevents this; and something similar is attempted in the rules for the *jeu du point a point*. However, the rule on the game sheet is clearly in error:

Who from baptism throws 7, will go doubling from grace to grace until 47, where he will learn to overcome his passions by remaining there while the others play 2 times; and who lands on an Emblem of grace, will double his number except for 14, *La Grace actuelle*: because, for the contempt that is made of it, he will go back to 6 to do penance.

The problem here is that Baptism is at space 1 and from there a throw of 7 would lead to space 8. In the booklet, this rule is modified:

²⁰ "il est permis de pense que un Agueronon, ivre d'eau-de-feu qui en Mars 1673 lui fracasse la tête de son tomahawk", *La Patrie*, 20 August 1950, p.46.

²¹ THWAITES. Op. cit., Vol. 71, pp. 150-151.



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The 7 is the Emblem of Grace: if you land on it in whatever way [i.e. by whatever throw], to show the progress which results from that gift of God, you move on to 47 to learn how to master your passions, which victory is the result [of Grace]; and for that you stay there while the others play twice.

However, a proper solution, retaining the symbolism of going from Grace to Grace, would mean rearranging the track so that baptism was space zero and inserting a new emblem. Instead, the booklet rule goes on:

He who lands on an Emblem of Grace, whichever it is, doubles his throw, that is, he will advance again as much as he has already done. And if on doubling he falls into a mortal sin, he will go back to the previous Emblem without paying a stake, for Grace never leads to sin. It is the same for a venial sin, from which he must go back to the Work of Mercy that precedes it, without paying a stake.

If you double from Grace to Grace by the number 7, you do not pass 47, but stay there as aforesaid. [This is only possible by throwing from space 2 of the Original Sin section].

The booklet rules also clarify that the rationale behind going back to 6 after landing on 14 *La Grace actuelle* is to do penance for that which you have scorned. In Roman Catholic belief 'la grâce actuelle' is assistance that God gives to a person at a moment when help is needed: it requires a period of reflection for it to be effective.

Mention has been made of the sins that are represented in the game. Mortal sins are depicted by various emblems: landing on one means a retreat to the preceding Penitence space, at either 6 or 36, and waiting one turn for the first offence, two for the second, and so on, paying in each case a corresponding number of stakes. Landing on a venial sin generally means stepping back one space, where a good work of mercy will be found by way of expiation; however, space 32 has a special rule, recognising that venial sin can lead to mortal sin, so that one must do penance at space 6.

The Marriage space has its own rules for calling the banns and paying the Curé; and there are rules for paying Tithes (space 55), also penalties for Scandal (25) and Larceny (38). Two spaces require real actions. Landing at 48, the player must salute the Holy



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Virgin by saying an Ave Maria, kneeling on the ground. And at space 54 (devotion to the Holy Sacrament), a *Tantum Ergo* must be said.²² This is perhaps the earliest instance of a printed board game breaking the boundaries of the artificial world of play.²³

The goal is to reach Paradise (space 71) either by landing on it directly, which ends the game, or indirectly, via the Final Grace (space 63) or by being freed from Purgatory (space 68) by means of an Indulgence created by another player landing on space 46. The winner takes half the pool but must share the rest with any Souls still in Purgatory, who reach Paradise when the game ends. Overshooting Paradise has terrible consequences: the player ends in Hell (space 72) and is out of the game. This applies even if the player overshoots beyond 72: unlike in the parent *jeu de l'oie*, 'in eternity there is no going back'.

VI. The Emblems of the *Jeu du point au point* and their significance

Pierron's hopes and intentions with regard to the emblems that are the key feature of the game are well expressed in his own preface:

I present to you a Game in a new way, where the serious is joined to the entertaining; & where one learns, while playing, the beautiful maxims of wisdom. As one enjoys games and tricks, and above all emblems, I thought I could take advantage of this natural inclination and sanctify such a common pleasure by making its object an agreeable source of holy instruction. This Game will have, as I hope, this advantage over the Books that deal with the same subjects, that the emblematic figures of which it is composed will serve to impress them more strongly on the imagination and on the memory; the Emblem, which is only a comparison, being such by its nature, that it explains sensibly and in an ingenious way a thing less known by another that is better known, thus facilitating the understanding of the spiritual by the corporeal.

²² *Tantum ergo* is the incipit of the last two verses of *Pange lingua*, a Medieval Latin hymn generally attributed to St Thomas Aquinas. It is said or sung during veneration and benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the Roman Catholic Church.

²³ For a discussion of modern games that cross the boundary, see Salen & Zimmerman, 2004.



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Everything that appears on the sheet of this Game is a mystery: the symbols, the layout, and the various incidents that make it fun. This Booklet will reveal to you all the secrets, with salutary reflections given there in abridged form, which can serve as reading & meditation in the city & in the fields, where the people spend the Holy Days of Feast doing nothing, or doing bad things. It is meant for the priests, who have a little zeal, to have a great way of educating their parishioners in particular & by their advocacy to instill the great truths of Christianity. Also, all Fathers & Mothers can use it to teach their children and their servants the duties that they owe to God, by showing the horror of vice. I have arranged [the booklet] according to the sheet of the Game; but I am preparing, with the help of God, to give it another form & to embellish it with several other Emblems on the virtues, & with all the stories that have a bearing on it, which I will draw from Holy Scripture, as it provides, in order to be more useful. I will place them in the hands of a good Engraver, who will show both the Emblem and the History in the same light. But in the meantime, accept the booklet in good heart, as I wish you eternal happiness, of which it is the end, and which you will win very easily, without risking much, by playing innocently, provided that you take the trouble to reflect a little on the conduct of the Game, and on the great wisdom it contains in its Emblems. It will happen that you will often fall into sin, & as many times into harsher penance, & that perhaps you will fall into Hell rather than into Paradise; make a serious reflection while playing, that it is better to go there in imagination, than in fact, & thereafter always make yourself a better & more honest man; you will find means and ideas at the end of this booklet.²⁴

It is thus clear that the booklet is aimed at the educated French public, both clerical and lay. One should therefore not be surprised if at least some of the emblems are chosen to resonate with that public rather than with missionary converts. However, the sources of Pierron's emblems are far from completely clear and the following discussion merely scratches the surface.

A complete set of the images is presented in *Appendix 2*, **figure 5** together with a brief note on the significance of each. Some are standard Christian symbols. For example, the moon symbolises the Virgin Mary: as the moon reflects the light of the sun, so the Virgin reflects and participates in the glory of God. The emblem for Baptism (space 1) draws on a New Testament reference (Romans 11): a wild tree which bears a grafted shoot. The shoot represents Christ; and the tree is made new and will bear His good

²⁴ [The original French.](#)



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fruit, as does the grafted tree in nature. Less conventionally, the same idea is used at space 31, 'give shelter to pilgrims': a tree is shown with three grafted branches, which it feeds though they are alien to it. The booklet clarifies the biblical reference to Abraham and Lot, who unknowingly lodged three angels, and to the disciples at Emmaus. Bees are used in the emblems at space 8 (the first Commandment, showing bees following their king), space 43 (eight Commandment, on false witness, showing swarms fighting) and space 55 (payment of tithes, emphasising mutual dependence). The use of bees in Jesuit emblems was widespread and covered a complex set of ideas.²⁵

Some emblems are of the real world. The 7th commandment, against stealing, is illustrated at space 38 by a mousetrap, emphasising the consequences of being caught. And 'many are called but few are chosen'²⁶ is graphically symbolised by showing that only one of the arrows aimed at a weathercock hits the mark. However, the important space 47, conquest of the passions, may raise an unintended smile: the victory over a horde of ravening wild beasts is to be brought about by means of a very small club – and the victory seems far from assured!

Two unconventional emblems concern the Sacrament. Emblem 10 (the Eucharist) shows the egg of a silkworm, in which the worm itself is latent, corresponding to Christ being present in the sacramental Host but discoverable only by its works. And emblem 54 (devotion to the Holy Sacrament) shows a magnetic stone attracting a chain of needles, the virtue of the stone being communicated from one needle to the next below. Similarly, the divine love expressed through the Sacrament draws together and unites all holy souls. One might have thought that the emblem could also express the idea of unbroken apostolic succession but this is not mentioned in the booklet.

A number of emblems move into the realm of metaphysical philosophy. For example, Eternity at space 70 is shown as two spheres standing on a table, their points of contact representing Heaven and Hell respectively. The idea of eternity as a single point in time

²⁵ DIMLER, Richard, 'The Bee-topos in the Jesuit emblem book – themes and contrast' in: *The Emblem in Renaissance and Barok Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 1992, pp. 229-246.

²⁶ *Multi vocati, pauci vero electi*. (Math. 20,16).



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stems from Boethius (c. 470-524): ‘Eternity is the simultaneous and complete possession of infinite life’.²⁷ He gives the analogy between timeless eternity and the centre of a circle. The thought is that the centre bears the same relation to any point on the circumference of the circle, and in the same way timeless eternity bears the same relation to anything in time. The emblem in the game develops this by using the geometrical ideal of point contact between a sphere and a plane and providing separate spheres for heaven and hell. To find this enthusiastic retention of the Boethian concept is somewhat surprising so late in the Early Modern period, when his view of eternity as a ‘permanent now’ was being replaced by that of an infinite temporal duration.²⁸

Space 7, Grace as the foundation of merit, provides another excursion into the philosophical realm. It shows a figure one followed by an infinity of zeros, to indicate that without God’s Grace all labour is in vain. Particularly noteworthy is the emphasis given to works of charity and social assistance, their emblems being engaged by way of expiation whenever a venial sin is committed and the player moves back to the preceding space. Although all the various Christian orders engaged in charitable works, the articulation of this as essential to their mission was peculiar to the Jesuits.²⁹

Perhaps the most profound emblem is at space 67. It symbolises God’s judgment as a mirror, echoing the Patristic imagery:

So when the soul has put off every stain of sin with which it is tinged, and keeps pure only what is in the image, then when this shines forth it can truly contemplate as in a mirror the Word, the image of the Father, and in him meditate on the Father, of whom the Savior is the image.³⁰

²⁷ COOPER, W.V. [translator], *The Consolation of Philosophy*, Book V, Prose 6. London: Dent, 1902

²⁸ MELAMED, Yitzhak Y. “Eternity in Early Modern Philosophy” in Yitzhak Y. Melamed (ed.) *Eternity: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 129-167.

²⁹ O’MALLEY, John W., BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, HARRIS, Steven J. and KENNEDY, T. Frank. *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. Introduction xxviii.

³⁰ ATHANASIOS, *Contra Gentes* 34, cited in: Andreopoulos, A. (2000). “The Icon of God and the Mirror of the Soul: Exploring the Origins of Iconography in Patristic Writing.” *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 31(1).



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The emblems of the game are thus varied in nature, in their connection with Roman Catholic observance and belief, and in the depth of thought they provoke. The emphasis placed on God's Grace as the key to a good life and a good death is consistent throughout.

VII. Board games in Jesuit religious education

One should not be surprised at the importance given to emblems in this Jesuit game. Richard Dimler notes that, from the sixteenth century onwards, the Jesuits were the principal disseminators of the symbolic language that was developed in emblems and allegories: a language seen as fundamental to their system of education generally, not just an element in their missionary work.³¹ Nor was the use of a game for religious education peculiar to Pierron. There is an intriguing reference to the use of a game based on the *jeu de l'oie* in a different missionary context: volume XIV of the *Encyclopédie* (published in 1795) has, under the heading of instructive games to learn the sciences:

A kind of goose game, invented by a Jesuit, to teach children the elements of Christianity, which can be seen in the description of the voyage of a missionary of the Company of Jesus to Turkey.³²

The reference is to the mission of Jaques Villotte (1656-1743) as described by Nicolas Frizon, from Villotte's memoirs.³³ Villotte set out from Marseilles in 1688 and in 1691 had reached the flourishing Mission of Erzerom [in Eastern Anatolia], where 'the Armenians were no sooner made aware of his arrival than they rushed in a crowd to visit him in hope.' Of his time teaching the Armenian children we read (pp.204-206):³⁴

³¹ DIMLER, G Richard, *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*. New York: AMS Press, introduction.

³² "Une espece de jeu d'oie, imaginé par un jésuite, pour apprendre aux enfans les élémens du Christianisme, & dont on peut voir la description dans le voyage d'un missionnaire de la compagnie de Jésus en Turquie." *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris: vol. XIV, (1765) p. 791b. under the heading 'Sciences, jeux instructifs pour apprendre les'.

³³ FRIZON, Nicolas, from the memoirs of Jacques VILOTTE. *Voyage d'un missionnaire de la compagnie de Jésus en Turquie, en Perse, en Arménie, en Arabie et en Barbarie*. Paris: Jacques Vincent, 1730.

³⁴ [The original French](#).



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These children had had only a year of education, after which they knew perfectly everything that was within their reach; our Missionary said he found them so well instructed in all that was appropriate to their age, that there was scarcely anything left to teach them. But lest they should forget things as easily as they had learned them, he sought a means of impressing their ideas on them so vividly that they would not lose that memory. The expedient of which he availed himself, and which succeeded marvellously, was to reduce the Christian Doctrine to a species of game, more or less like the game of goose; he gave them the rules, and taught them how to play.

This game is composed of forty-six circles, which follow each other in a spiral figure, traced on a sheet of large paper; each circle contains an emblem or motto which expresses a mystery, or one of the great truths of our Religion; so that all the most essential points of Christian Doctrine are explained under the forty-six mottoes in an equally useful and pleasant manner. The player puts his token on the circle where the number shown by the dice is marked, & he must state the body of the emblem, the mystery it represents, & apply it: for example, if the dice being cast carry the number two, where the circle represents a river which discharges into the sea, with these words written at the bottom: God is the principle & the end of all things; after having put my token at the number two, & stated the motto, I apply it, & I say: Just as this river is in continual movement, & has no rest until it has arrived at the sea whence it came, so the man who has God as his principle can enjoy true rest only by returning to God, who is his last end, &c. The same is true of all the others. The Missionary therefore seeing the ardour that the children had in using this game which instructed and entertained them all together, sent the sheet to Paris to the Jesuit who takes care of the Millions, who had the plate engraved, & sent a large number of copies to Armenia, where they were so popular, that young and old, ecclesiastics and lay people wanted to have this game. [It is] so useful in Asia and could be the same in Europe, especially in the Religious Communities which teach boarding pupils; it would be an easy way to teach them the explanation of our mysteries and the most important truths of Religion, in the very time of their recreation.³⁵

Villotte left Erzurum in May 1692 (pp. 232-233). No trace of his game has yet been found but from the description it was evidently designed on the principle of Pierron's game, of which he could have known from the publication of 1683.

³⁵ Noticed in a presentation by ARRIF Abdelmajid et al, *Jeu de l'oie : Histoire et métamorphoses*. 2019. ffhalshs-03364352f.



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Despite their evident success in missionary work, games such as Pierron's were not universally approved. Indeed, his game was explicitly condemned in 1686 by Curé Jean Baptiste Thiers (1636-1703) together with other games of chance, in the following terms:

Games which depend on a combination of chance and skill are those which are played with cards, dice, or something similar, and where the risk is determined by the skill of the players, but not such that skill dominates. Such are the games of backgammon, Point to point [...] etc. Although people think that these kinds of games are allowed, since skill plays a large part, many Theologians consider that they are forbidden since they come under the Latin heading *Alea*, which signifies all sorts of games of chance.³⁶

Thiers evidently knew little about games: there is of course no skill element in Pierron's game, just as in the parent *jeu de l'oie*. The Jesuits were not deterred by such disapproval from making educational race games. A Jesuit was responsible for the earliest of the Bible studies games listed by D'Allemagne: '*Le Jeu historique de l'ancien testament* (1710), by le Père Bernou [sic, for Bernou], jésuite.'³⁷ Grand-Carteret mentions it with the same error;³⁸ further details of the game are given in the following citation:³⁹

³⁶ "Les jeux qui dépendent du hazard & de l'adresse tout ensemble, sont ceux où l'on joue avec des cartes, des dez, ou quelqu'autre chose semblable, & dont le hazard à la vérité est fixé par l'adresse des joueurs, mais non pas en telle sorte qu'il n'y domine principalement. Tels sont les jeux de Triquetrac, du Point au point [...] &c. Bien des gens s'imaginent que ces sortes de jeux sont permis, par la raison que l'adresse y a beaucoup de part, plusieurs Théologiens cependant [...] estiment qu'ils sont défendus, parce qu'ils sont renfermez sous le mot Latin *Alea*, qui signifie toutes sortes de jeux de hazard." THIERS, Jean Baptiste. *Traité des jeux et des divertissemens: qui peuvent être permis ou qui doivent être défendus aux Chrétiens selon les règles de l'Eglise et le sentiment des peres*. Paris: chez Antoine Dezallier, 1686, p. 252.

³⁷ Father Étienne BERNOU (1662? - 1714). See: Augustin de Backer, Alois Backer. *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus [...]*, Volume 4 Liège, Grandmont-Donders, 1858, p. 47.

³⁸ Grand-Carteret, p. 264.

³⁹ "Il a pour auteur le P. Bernou, jésuite, [...]. Il a pour titre: *Le Jeu historique de l'Ancien Testament*. Les Mémoires de Trévoux, mai 1710, p. 926, en parlent comme il suit sous la rubrique: Nouvelles de Lyon. 'Ce jeu se compose de 60 médailles chargées d'inscriptions et rangées dans un bel ordre sur une table ovale représentant les événements les plus singuliers de l'Ancien Testament. Le sort des dez conduit chaque joueur sur quelque médaille et lui impose la loi d'expliquer l'inscription ou de payer la somme dont on est convenu. Celui qui, en observant les règles, parvient le premier à la dernière



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The author is Father Bernou, a Jesuit, [...]. Its title is: *The Historical Game of the Old Testament*. The *Mémoires de Trévoux*, May 1710, p. 926, speak of it as follows under the heading: *Nouvelles de Lyon*. “This game consists of 60 medallions charged with inscriptions and arranged in good order on an oval tableau representing the most singular events of the Old Testament. The fate of the dice leads each player to some medallion and requires him to explain the entry or pay the sum agreed upon. Whoever, observing the rules, reaches the last medallion first, wins the game. A small book printed by Jacques Guerrier contains the rules of this new game and the explanation of the medallions.”

Neither the game sheet nor the booklet of 1710 seems to have survived but what appears to be a reprint of the booklet does exist under the same title, *Jeu historique sur l'Ancien Testament*, but dated 1770 and with the imprint, Lyon: chez Jacquenod Père, & Rusand, Libraires.⁴⁰ The description of the game given in the preface is a close transcript of that quoted above. The track is of 70 spaces, but not all represent events of the Old Testament. Nine consist of favourable spaces denoted as Angels, which double the throw as in the Game of the Goose. They appear on spaces 7, 14, 21... 63 so that the ruling number of the game is seven, as in Pierron's game. The final space represents the birth of the Messiah, so is not included in the figure of 60 Old Testament events. The reason for the figure of 60 was not evident to D'Allemagne, who concluded wrongly that there were two versions of the game with differing track lengths, of 60 and 70 spaces.⁴¹

The ruling number of seven is one of the strong resemblances to Pierron's game; another is the existence of an explanatory booklet, unusual in French games of the period – and clearly the importance of the image remains a continuing part of the Jesuit heritage. Bernou's game, though, is closer to the classic Game of the Goose than is Pierron's. The medallion at 60 (Nabucodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar] becoming like a beast) has the rule 'start again', like the classic Death space, and spaces 37 (loss of the Ark of the Covenant) and 53 (blindness of Tobias) have the same rule, wait for another

medaille, gagne la partie. Un petit livre imprimé chez Jacques Guerrier contient les règles de ce nouveau jeu et l'explication des médailles.” DUPRAT, Benj. *L'intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, Volume 3; Volume 5, Paris: Libraire de la Suisse Romande, 1866, No. 99, col. 71.

⁴⁰ [Digitised copy, with the book-stamp of the Jesuit library of Chantilly, now held at Lyon.](#)

⁴¹ D'Allemagne, *op. cit.*, p. 209.



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player to deliver you, as for the Well and Prison spaces of Goose. However, the most severe penalty is reserved for space 5 (the Fall of Adam), where the unfortunate player is exiled from the game until there is a fresh *partie*.

VIII. Jesuit emblematics and Pierron's game

There is an extensive literature concerning the place of the emblem in Jesuit thought and teaching.⁴² Here we touch only on the features relevant to Pierron's game. We begin with the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, the prescription which guided the provision of education in hundreds of Jesuit schools in France and abroad for over 150 years.⁴³ The *Ratio* does advocate the use of emblems, but only as an adjunct to more fundamental studies. For example, regarding Roman and Greek history:

For the sake of erudition, other and more recondite subjects may be introduced on the weekly holidays in place of the historical work, for example, hieroglyphics, emblems, questions of poetic technique, epigrams, epitaphs, odes, elegies, epics, tragedies [...] and other kindred subjects, but in moderation.

Nonetheless, religious emblems were used in the teaching of Jesuit novices because of their pedagogic value. Pierron's advocacy of his emblems as providing the Iroquois with 'all that a Christian has to know' may suggest that he was using the game to teach the fundamentals of religion, though he does state that it was played 'in the Easter holidays.' Similarly, his preface to the Dijon booklet suggests that in France the game was to be used for instruction by Parish Priests and parents, i.e., as an out of school activity.

It is because his aim is instruction rather than spiritual reflection that Pierron departs from the canonical form of presentation of the emblem, which may be summarised as a tripartite format comprising a title or motto (*inscriptio*), an image (*pictura*), and a verse (*subscriptio*). In traditional emblem books, these elements are usually printed in that order on a single page, and the reader is invited to connect all three in an act of mental effort,

⁴² For an overview, see: Ralph DEKONINCK, "[Jesuit Emblematics between Theory and Practice](#)", *Jesuit Historiography Online*, 2017.

⁴³ A translation by Allan P. Farrell S.J. of the [Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu](#).



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thus solving what is essentially a puzzle. In Pierron's presentation, the *pictura* is named in French, the *inscriptio* is present, in Latin – but in place of the verse *subscriptio* we find (in the Dijon booklet) a clear prose text for each emblem, which goes well beyond mere explanation to provide an uplifting homily or short sermon.

This approach is well known in Jesuit emblematics. Ménestrier in particular stressed the difference between an 'enigma', something obscure to be puzzled out, and an 'emblem', whose meaning should be clear and easy to find.⁴⁴ And one of the most popular spiritual emblem books of the seventeenth century, the *Pia desideria*, by Herman Hugo S.J., incorporated extended descriptions with sermon-like qualities.⁴⁵

Of course, a particular feature of all three games discussed in the previous section is that the emblems are encountered in an order which depends on the throw of a random number. Curiously, this feature is shared by another set of Jesuit emblems: the 100 emblems in Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp: Jan Moretus I, 1601). At the back of the book, readers are invited to use a spinning disc to select an emblem for study. The disc is inscribed with numbers from one to one hundred, arranged in four distinct circular bands, each corresponding to one of four small windows: one for each evangelist. The reader chooses one of these and spins the disc. When it stops, a number is revealed in the chosen window, which refers to a list of one hundred maxims chosen from classic authors.

Having found and read the sentence corresponding to the number, the reader must then find and contemplate, in the light of David's commentary, the particular image that applies to the sentence. This is of interest in showing that, at least in this case, the Jesuits did not respect Thomas Aquinas' prohibition in canon law regarding the use of

⁴⁴ MÉNESTRIER, Claude-François S.J., *L' Art des emblèmes*. Lyon: Benoît Coral, 1662, p. 20.

⁴⁵ *Pia desideria emblematis elegiis et affectibus SS. Patrum illustrata*. Antwerp: Boëtius à Bolswert & Hendrik Aertssens, 1624.



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drawing lots – here, the *sors divinatoria* – which could be seen as soliciting God's judgement for a trivial purpose.⁴⁶

IX. Other religious games based on the *jeu de l'oie*

We may contrast these Jesuit games with other religious variants of the *jeu de l'oie*. Perhaps the earliest of all is the *Jeu des quatres dernieres fins de l'homme*. The only example known is that published by G Fourcroy.⁴⁷ Guillaume Defourcroy (Defourcroix, Dufourcroy, de Fourcroy, de Forcroy, de Forcrois) was a Paris cardmaker and stationer, who also made woodcut prints and decorated paper: he is documented between 1702 and 1730.⁴⁸ Although this dates the example, the game was invented well before: the rules appear verbatim in the 1654 edition of *La Maison des jeux académique*.⁴⁹ Fourcroy evidently used an existing woodcut block for the track but added within its central oval a text block for the rules: a common procedure for woodcut *jeux de l'oie*.⁵⁰

As with Pierron's game, the goal is to reach Paradise, at the end of the track (space 60). The favourable throw-doubling spaces are denoted by an anchor, on spaces 6, 12, 18 etc. Hazards are: Death (space 8 – miss two turns), Charon's boat (32 – go back to 14), Guardian Angel (49 – take back a stake), Hell (59 – start again). These spaces are decorated with unsophisticated images. There are also unnamed hazards at spaces 15, 22 and 41: these are just decorated with landscape scenes, as are the inactive spaces. This is a very simple game in its imagery and could not be said to have an educational purpose.

⁴⁶ SINTOMER, Yves. *The Government of Chance: Sortition and Democracy from Athens to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023, p. 40.

⁴⁷ BnF VP-487.

⁴⁸ DEPAULIS, Thierry. "Guillaume Defourcroy (1669-1731), cartier parisien déchu, dominotier par nécessité", *Le Vieux Papier* No 437, July 2020, p. 298 and (with an image of the game) No 438, Oct 2020, p. 361.

⁴⁹ D.L.M. (1654). *La maison des jeux académique*. 1st edn. Robert de Nain and Marin Leché, Paris.

⁵⁰ SEVILLE, Adrian. *The material form of the Game of the Goose - Some aspects of printing history*. XXIII BOARD GAME STUDIES COLLOQUIUM - The Evolutions of Board Games, Apr 2021, Paris, France. {hal-03737325}



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Also in the seventeenth century, there appeared a few games signed ‘par M^r Hamel, Curé de Moüy’. His dates are not known but he was the author of *L'Année spirituelle, historique et chronologique des religieuses ursulines, qui contient autant de billets qu'il y a des jours en l'an*, published in 1689 by Josse of Paris. One of his games is *Le Divertissement des Religieuses*.⁵¹ Its track of 63 spaces begins with *L'Entrée en religion* and the goal is to arrive at *La Salle des noces de l'Agneau où sont reçues les Vierges sages*. Most of the spaces are empty apart from a simple decorative leaf spray. Others contain text, while a few contain scenes of monastic life.

Another game by Hamel is *Le Jeu des aveugles présentés aux mondains aveuglés par leurs péchés*.⁵² The pattern of decoration is very similar. The theme of relieving the blindness of sin culminates in an allusive depiction of blind pilgrims visiting the Well of Silöé in hope of a cure. The first space clarifies the biblical reference: John.9.7. D'Allemagne claims that a different game, *L'École de la Vérité pour les nouveaux convertis*, published in Paris by Jollain, gave rise to the *Jeu des aveugles* as a variant.⁵³ Though it is not signed by Hamel, the style is undoubtedly very similar, though the theme – Truth – is different. It is known only as a re-issue by Crépy about 1750. Considering these three games as a group, one is struck by the use of text in the active spaces, contrasting sharply with the Jesuit games described earlier, in which the importance of the image is paramount.

In the eighteenth century, several more games for religious instruction make their appearance. Bible studies, moral guidance, and preparation for entry to the convent are the prevalent themes. A Jansenist game of 1722, *Le Jeu de la Constitution*, is properly classified as a game of propaganda, though it has a religious theme, and so is outside

⁵¹ In: <http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=839>. This example has the imprint Chrepy [for Crépy] but de Vinck, (*Iconographie du noble jeu de l'oye*, Bruxelles: Olivier, 1886) notes that it covers an earlier imprint that has been scratched out and is not legible: he dates the plate to 1640.

⁵² In: <http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=36>. An example noted by D'Allemagne is signed ‘par M. Hamel, ci-devant curé de Mouy’ and is dated there as towards the end of the 17th century.

⁵³ In: <http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=838>



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the scope of the present paper.⁵⁴ A survey is given by Frédéric Maguet, covering also some nineteenth century games.⁵⁵

Conclusion

Pierron's hope that the Jesuit Missionaries could use his game 'with excellent results' among the 'country people' of France never came to fruition. Nevertheless, the missions in Brittany did employ a series of 'moral images' in the form of painted placards, and these were regarded as central to the pastoral role, as Silvia Mostaccio notes. She cites a contemporary appreciation of the artistic work of Fr. Vincent Huby S.J. (1608-1693):⁵⁶

Fr. Huby's third zealous invention is placards or moral images [...] Spiritual things are represented there in a perceptible way regarding various states of the soul, in life, at death; after death; the state of sin, the state of grace, the passage from one to the other of those two states. It is like a synopsis of all Christian morals. Experience has shown that nothing is better suited to teaching people than these pictures; and that is why Fr. Huby had prints engraved, which were printed in Paris together with explanations. Missionaries and the other evangelists make fruitful use of them.⁵⁷

The similarity to Pierron's scheme is obvious; yet whereas the use of Huby's pictures was widespread, we do not find a similarly wide adoption of the *jeu de l'oie* as a means of spiritual instruction. In comparing the Breton missions with those of Canada, Alain Croix remarks that in making use of what is essentially a gambling game for this

⁵⁴ SEVILLE, Adrian, *The Royal Game of the Goose*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: The Grolier Club, 2016, game 43.

⁵⁵ MAGUET, Frédéric. "Le Ciel sur un coup de dés... Étude de quelques jeux de l'oie religieux", *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, N°. 5-6, 1994, pp. 79-87.

⁵⁶ MOSTACCIO, Silvia. "[Shaping the Spiritual Exercises: the Maisons des retraites in Brittany during the Seventeenth Century as a Gendered Pastoral Tool](#)", *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 2015.

⁵⁷ CHAMPION Pierre. *La vie des fondateurs des Maisons de Retraite, monsieur De Kerlivio, le père Vincent Huby de la Compagnie de Jésus, et Mademoiselle De Francheville*. Nantes: Jacques Mareschal, 1698. Cited and translated by Silvia Mostaccio.



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purpose, Pierron is at the extreme frontiers of what is acceptable.⁵⁸ Contrast the absence of new editions of Pierron's game with the popularity of the images from Le Gall's devotional book, *l'Oratoire du cœur*, as witnessed by its frequent reprinting from 1670 onwards.⁵⁹

There is less objection to using the *jeu de l'oie* as a vehicle for teaching Bible knowledge: there are several reprints of Bernou's *Jeu historique sur l'Ancien Testament*. The explanatory booklet is notably free from spiritual didacticism, giving instead a simple account of each biblical scene. And games designed specifically for those entering a convent seem also to be acceptable to the religious authorities, judging by the continued popularity of the *Récréation Spirituelle*: after its first publication by Aubert of Paris in 1751, versions of it remained in print for nearly a century.⁶⁰

The use of games for spiritual instruction is very largely confined to France. The rare exceptions are clearly associated with Roman Catholic belief: two English examples are *The Way to Heaven*,⁶¹ in which the aid of the Jesuit saint Aloysius is invoked at several points, and *The Road to Heaven*,⁶² in which the Franciscan connection is obvious from the rules. So Pierron's game has not left an appreciable legacy, despite his hopes. Yet anyone today viewing its emblems with serious intent will find new perspectives on the deep ideas that its status as 'just a game' may conceal.

⁵⁸ CROIX, Alain. "Missions, Hurons et Bas-Bretons au XVIIe siècle." In: *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*. Vol. 95, no 4, 1988.

⁵⁹ LE GALL, Maurice de Querdu. *L'oratoire du cœur, ou Methode tres-facile pour faire oraison avec Jésus-Christ dans le fond du cœur. Et représentée en huit figures en taille-douce*. Paris: chez Pierre de Bresche, 1670.

⁶⁰ D'ALLEMAGNE op. cit. pp. 209-210.

⁶¹ London: R. Washbourne, c. 1875, Cambridge University Library, 1875.9.36.

⁶² Preston: H Thomson Ltd, c. 1900, British Library 74/1865.c.2.



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Appendix 1 – Rules for the *Jeu du point au point* translated from the central cartouche of the game sheet

This game, like the goose game, is played with a 12-sided ball or 2 dice [deleted] landing on the numbers marked according to the number thrown; if nevertheless first you throw 10, 11, or 12, you will retreat to baptism which is properly the beginning of the game, as it is that of the Church. What precedes it belongs to the state of original sin, and for that you put your stake.

4: [Charity] you take a stake, also when you land on the [other] works of mercy.

7: who from baptism throws 7, will go doubling from grace to grace until 47, where he will learn to overcome his passions by remaining there while the others play 2 times; and who lands on an Emblem of grace, will double his number except for 14, La Grace actuelle: because for the contempt that is made of it, he will go back to 6 to do penance. From each mortal sin, you go back to the penance which precedes it, at 6 or 36, putting a stake for the first time, for the second two, for the third three, and so on for the rest; and you remain in penance as many times without playing; because relapses deserve more punishment.

23: for the sin of scandal, you pay 2 stakes for its enormity, and as much for that of larceny 38, to make restitution.

From a venial sin, you step back [one space] to expiate it by a good work; nevertheless, from venial sin at 32 you go back to the previous mortal [sin] putting a stake, and from there at the same time to number 6 [penitence] because venial sin leads to the mortal.
15: you stay at the wedding 3 rounds to publish the 3 banns, after which you pay a stake for the dues of the parish priest.

46: by an indulgence you draw the soul from purgatory which first fell there, if there is one; by going from there to paradise it gives 2 stakes to its liberator for recognition; or one applies the indulgence to oneself, taking the game, without withdrawing the soul.



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48: here you salute the Blessed Virgin, kneeling to say an Ave Maria.

54: you say the *tantum ergo* to learn devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to accompany it when it is taken to the sick.

55: you put in 1 stake to pay the tithes with the [help of the] bees.

59: from final impenitence you go to a bad death 66 and from there to Hell.

63: from the final grace you go to a good death [at 65] and from there into paradise.

68: you remain in purgatory until you are removed from it or the game is over, to go to paradise; and then you take the stakes as stated in [the rule for] 71.

71: who enters paradise takes half of the pot, the following half of what remains there; and takes all if entering it alone.

72: you fall into Hell by the exact number that you throw, also by overthrowing it, without being able to retreat, because there is no going back in eternity; you put 2 stakes for the body and for the soul since all is lost. Conduct yourself so well that in reality you never fall into it. Amen.



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Appendix 2 – the Emblems of the *Jeu du point au point*

Figure 5a



Original Sin emblems 1-8 and State of Grace emblems 1-8.



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Sur l'état du peché originel. [On the state of original sin]

1. De la chute d'Adam [Of the fall of Adam] (*mors in morsu* - death in the bite)

A fish caught on a hook, taking the concealing bait. Adam eats the apple concealing an abyss of evil. The main business of man is to reflect continually on these things, to fear error and to consider well what he should do or not do; in default of which he will lose benefits both temporal and eternal, as experience shows.

2. Le Peché originel [original sin] (*à trunco exitium* – the evil comes from the trunk)

A tree whose branches are all dead. The unhappiness of all men comes from the first disobedience. And that of families and children comes from their parents.

3. Erreur, effet du peché originel [error resulting from original sin] (*error ab ortu* – error from birth)

A labyrinth representing the World, full of shadows, ignorance and corruption wrought by original sin. A mistake once made cannot be undone, though regretted. If one mistakes clouds for habitable lands, it is a mistake without prejudice. And if a peasant sells a diamond worth ten thousand écus for five sols, it is a temporal disbenefit. But if one rejects Paradise for temporal things... Such is the Devil against Man.

4. Hayne du demon contre l'hôme [hatred of the devil for man] (*dolus omnia et omnia virus* – all is trickery and poison)

The Devil's hatred of Man is represented as a great spider in his web. He has an infinity of ruses. Therefore, watch carefully over your passions, your interests, your pleasures and your vengeance.

5. La Grace [divine Grace] (*dives in omnes* – riches for all)

It is represented as a sun shining on all creatures. God refuses Grace to none. No one will be damned except by his fault, not by the refusal of Grace.

6. La Liberté [Liberty] (*quò lubet inclina* – what you like tilts the balance)

Freedom of choice between good and evil is represented as a balance in equilibrium.



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7. Petit nombre des Elûs [the small number of the Elect] (*I pluribus attigit una* – among many only one reached [the goal])

Many arrows are aimed at the weathercock, only one hits. Everyone wants to go to Heaven – the majority will go to Hell. Those who are not of the Church are already condemned. The Holy Church is the garner of God, yet it contains much more straw than grain. It is not at all enough to be a Catholic. Of six hundred thousand, only two will enter the promised land. [Numbers 31,32]

8. L'Eglise [The Church] (*Statio tuta una* – the only safe refuge)

The true Church is represented as a ship entering a safe harbour, which is guarded by the twin towers of SS Peter and Paul. Give a thousand thanks that you were born into this church; and have great compassion for the thousands of souls who have not had the same luck and are infallibly damned.

Sur l'état du grace [On the state of Grace]

1. Le Baptême [Baptism] (*fit nova* – made new).

Baptism is represented as a wild tree which bears a grafted shoot. The shoot represents Christ; and the tree is made new and will bear His good fruit, as does the grafted tree in nature. Reverting to one's old ways after baptism will increase the torments of hell. A bad tree deserves to be burnt.

2. La foy [Faith] (*in tenebris immota regit* – it reigns motionless in the darkness).

Faith is represented by the Pole Star (evidenced by the somewhat incongruous animal figure representing the constellation of the Great Bear) to which a compass needle points, guiding the way in darkness. Lean on your faith and whatever ill befalls in this world, you will be happy.

3. L'Esperance [hope] (*nihil hac firmante timebo* – being fast I fear nothing).

Hope is represented by a ship firmly anchored.

[the booklet refers also to a second figure, not included in the game sheet: 'un liere (sic, for lierre?) qui s'est attaché sur un arbre', with the motto *restante virebo* – an ivy plant attached to a tree: I shall always live while you sustain me].



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4. La Charité [charity] (*uritur et urit* – it burns and it burns). The sun's rays strike a mirror focussed on a bush which bursts into flames. Love your neighbour as God loves you.

5. La Confirmation [Confirmation] (*fortior ex oleo* – stronger through the oil). The sacrament is represented as filling a lamp with oil.

6. La Penitence [Penitence] (*post lachrymas et vulneras fructus* – after tears, wholesome fruit) Represented as a vine that must be pruned in spring, when its wounds weep, but afterwards it bears fruit.

7. La Grace, principe du merite [Grace, underpinning merit] (*valor omnium ab uno est* – the work of all comes from one) Represented as a figure 1 followed by many zeros. All merit comes from God, without Grace one labours in vain, like the swallows and the spiders. Do one good deed a day and in a year you will amass 365 steps towards Heaven.

8. 1st Commande un seul Dieu [First commandment: there is one God] (*exemplo non imperio* – by example not by command) Many bees are following their king [sic – the booklet has 'leur Roy' rather than their queen]. The way to heaven is that of the Cross.



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9. Le peché mortel [Mortal sin] (*angit heri jactura* – he is distressed by yesterday's loss) A poor dog has lost its master and is in despair. This example should disturb those who have lost God voluntarily through mortal sin but presently live and sleep easily.

10. L'eucharistie [The Eucharist] (*opus latentem prodit* – it reveals hidden work) A silkworm within its egg represents Christ latent within the Host.

11. L'aumône [Alms] (*ex uno mille rependit* – from one a thousand are produced) Many spices from a single grain [a mustard seed] Helping the poor will give you much benefit, through life eternal.

12. Peché venial [Venial sin] (*tegitur, no extinguitur* – hidden not extinguished) The sun is hidden by clouds. Venial sins do not cut us off from God but veil and cool our regard.

13. L'ordre, la prêtrise [the Order of Priesthood] (*se in imagine reddit* – he renders himself in the image) The sun's reflection is shown in a cloud. Priests are the reflection of God.

14. La Grace actuelle [Actual Grace] (*dum lucet* – while it shines) The setting sun represents God's grace which must be sought during the night as well as during the day. If God is scorned, he will scorn you.

15. Le Mariage [Marriage] (*paritate foelix* – happiness through equality) A good marriage is represented by two equal clam shells. There should be similarity of nature, condition, age, virtue and wealth. Disparity leads to trouble and even divorce.

16. 2nd commande du jurement [Second commandment: swearing] (*in authorem reddit* – it returns to the author) An arrow aimed at the sun falls back to the bow. Who would aim to hurt the sun, source of all benefits? Likewise, one who denies God and seeks to play the Jew against him as at the Passion. The blasphemer cannot hurt the truth but is himself hurt terribly.



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17. Peché mortal [mortal sin] (*et petor et morior* – I am hunted and I die)

A poor deer is hunted to death. Our Lord said he was assaulted by dogs and bulls – he meant the Jews and sinners, who would bring him to death. His crucifixion was above all a mortal sin.

18. La Confession, sa integrite [The integrity of confession] (*ab obscuro* – from the darkness) Water gushes from a fountain – it has flowed from the mountains in concealment but now is brought to light, as confession reveals that which was hidden.

19. La bonne intention [Good intentions] (*signata valent* – signed, they have value)

Your actions are represented by several coins, not from the mint. Signed, they would have value. Likewise, your actions are worthless unless they carry the mark of God's Grace.

20. Peché venial [venial sin] (*vel parva morentur* – I am dying through small things)

A poor bird is tethered to a tree and cannot escape. Your earthly passions hold you back from the freedom of the Saints.

21. de La Grace, sa necessité [the necessity of Grace] (*nil sine te* – nothing without you)

A ship has a fair wind on the poop – without which it cannot go forward. Likewise, Grace is necessary to your advancement.

22. 3e Commande – garder les festes [Third commandment – keep the feasts] (*spiritus unus agit* – one spirit acts) A fine organ in a church. The wind that blows through its pipes is likened to the Holy Spirit, which animates us all.

23. Peché de scandal [the sin of scandal] (*mille nocet fert una cadens* – a thousand casualties from a single fall) A bomb flies above a town, causing a thousand deaths when it falls. So did the scandal of Lucifer cause the fall of a third of the angels from heaven.

24. Habiller les pauvres [clothe the poor] (*nova succrescet* – a new one will grow)

Sheep and lambs give their wool for clothing. It will re-grow but that which is given becomes more precious and receives rich dyes.



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A tree is covered in nests of caterpillars which have all but destroyed it. Such are the effects of the sins which encourage your passions. And you merchants: your little cheats are like those that drew Judas to the ultimate of sins.

26. 4e Commande – pere et mere honor [Fourth commandment – honour father and mother] (*ad unum fingimur omnes* – we are all united in one) A devout family is represented by a sunflower that turns always to the sun. Parents should inspire their children by good works and words.

27. Peché mortel [mortal sin] (*quae genuit, lacerant* – things that are born do harm) A viper is shown whose offspring have torn through her entrails. Bad parents make bad children. But children are not to disrespect their parents – see the sad case of Absalom.

28. La Grace prevenante [Prevenient Grace - in Roman Catholic theology, an assisting grace which leads toward belief.] (*quia respexit* – for He has regarded) This Grace is represented as full sun and moon. [The Latin phrase is from the Magnificat: because God has considered the Virgin, she is full of light]

29. 5e commande – pardon des ennemis [Fifth commandment – forgive your enemies] (*pro vulnere munera reddunt* - they return gifts for wounds) A tree that is pruned gives good fruit; and the earth a crop when torn by the plough.

30. Peché mortel d'habitude [Habitual sin] (*subruit haerendo* – it crumbles by clinging) A vine is shown clinging to a ruined wall which having exhausted its substance falls away. Habitual sin causes ruin to the soul.

31. Loger les pelerins [shelter the travellers] (*quamvis incognita pasquam* – although unknown at the time) A tree is shown with three grafted branches. I feed those I do not know. Reference is made to Abraham and Lot, who lodged the three angels and to the disciples at Emmaus.



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32. Peché venial [venial sin] (*in minimo vis maximo* – great power in small) A breach in a dam leads to its collapse. And a balance is tipped by a small grain. So, a small sin has large consequences: ruin of the soul.

33. 6e commande contre l'impureté [sixth commandment – against impurity] (*in pedibus salus* – saved by my feet) A deer runs from a pursuing dog. Flee temptations.

34. Peché mortel [mortal sin] (*ut furit, haud parcit* – as he rages he does not spare) A town in flames shows the effects of the sin of impurity [A common term for sins of lust, whether interior thoughts or desires that are not carried out or those actually effected.] This sin spares none and is described by St John as a beast with seven heads and ten horns. [Revelation 13, 1-10 or possibly 17,3]

35. La Grace efficace et la Grace suffisant [efficacious and sufficient Grace] (*sequentem trahit* – he pulls that which follows) One sheep follows the branch held by its master, the other ignores him. A pulley lifts a stone block [but not a rock, according to the explanation]. The same action can have different consequences: the same Grace can be efficacious for one person in achieving salvation but only sufficient in another [i.e., merely capable of achieving salvation]. Your loss is in your own hands.

36. La penitence et la retour des merites [penitence and the return of merit] (*redeunte resurgit omnia* – when he returns, everything rises again) Return of the Prodigal is symbolised by the new beauty of nature in spring.

37. L'Examen de Conscience [examination of the conscience] (*Exactas iterum relegit* – he read the details again) A pendulum clock shows the hours. Every day you must review the hours spent, as did all the Saints.

38. 7e Commande du larcin [seventh commandment – against stealing] (*capereis, si ceperis* - if you catch you will be caught) A mousetrap. Theft does not profit the thief, who is bound to make restitution or face damnation.



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39. Peché Mortel [mortal sin] (*frigus adussit* – it became cold)

Mortal sin is represented by Winter: the booklet has also the simile ‘like a Courtesan from whom the King has turned away’.

40. Consoler les malades et les affligez [help the sick and the afflicted] (*fert lingua medelam* – the tongue brings healing)

A dog licks a wound to cure it. It is fine to see a person of merit giving consolation and alms to the afflicted.

Figure 5d



State of Grace emblems 41-56.



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41. La Patience [Patience] (*quies et honor post verbera* – peace and honour follow the blows) Kneeling before statues of Saints. Stones are formed by hammer and chisel but put in place by the hands of the masons. Likewise, the Saints, after suffering, have pleasure in repose in heaven.

42. La vie de la Grace [the Life of Grace] (*surculis foelix suis*– happy with its shoots) An evergreen tree charged with excellent fruit because of its good grafts.

43. 8e Commande des mauvaises langues [Eighth commandment – false witness] (*animas in vulnere ponunt* – they lay their souls in the wound) Two swarms of bees are fighting, each killing the other. False tongues do likewise.

44. Peché Mortel [mortal sin] (*girat, non progreditur* – he goes round but does not move on) A horse at the mill. So is a man who is constrained by his pleasures.

45. Visiter les prisonniers [visit those in prison] (*quod possum* – I do what I can) A bird in a cage is visited by another bringing food.

46. Indulgence [indulgence] (*dimittitur* – it is released) A falcon is released from its jesses and flies free. And the creditor releases a debt. So are the souls in Purgatory released when an Indulgence is issued.

47. Victoire des passions [victory over the passions] (*ne subigar, subigo* – I am not mastered, I master them) The passions are represented as wild animals, to be subjugated with a club.

48. La devotion envers la Ste Vierge [devotion to the Holy Virgin] (*solem agit* – it becomes the sun) Devotion to the Blessed Virgin, who is represented as the moon.

49. La Grace comitante [concomitant Grace] (*juvat non determinat* – it aids but does not determine) A large beam floats in a river – a man can pull it across using a rope, but only with the supporting help of the water. Grace aids but does not determine man's actions.



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50. 9e Commande – la garde des sens et du coeur [ninth commandment – keep watch over the senses and the heart] (*claudere fores estoque domi / claudere fores tuas esto domi* – close the doors and be at home) An oyster has its shell open. It is menaced by a crab, which looks to wedge it open with a stone. The Devil looks to capture a man through his senses. His curiosity to see, to know, to hear and to experiment is his ruin.

51. peché Mortel d'ivrognerie [mortal sin of drunkenness] (*tumet timendum* – as it grows it is to be feared) Drunkenness is represented as a black storm cloud.

52. le Jeûne [The Young] (*observat et abstinat* – observes and abstains) A dog has a morsel of bread placed on its nose yet watches obediently and does not eat. This is directed at those who have guard the young in the Church.

53. L'Oraison [Prayer] (*soli clausa patent* – only this opens the closed) Prayer is represented as a key that will open heaven.

54. Devotion au St Sacrement [devotion to the Holy Sacrament] (*et trahit et unit* – it draws and unites) A magnetic stone attracts needles which in their turn communicate its virtue to others, which are then attracted too. The altar sacrament draws all holy souls and unites them.

55. Payer les Dimes [Pay the tithes] (*e nostro pendimus omnes* – we all depend on each other) Bees say, we depend on each other; they are shown in their hives, giving us honey and wax. We must give tithes according to the rule of the Church.

56. La Grace, sa fin [final Grace] (*tollit et attollit* – it detaches and lifts)
 The sun draws an exhalation from the earth, which it purifies. At the end, Grace refines man's soul.



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Figure 5e



State of Grace emblems 57-72.



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57. devotion au St. Ange gardien [devotion to the holy Guardian Angel] (*te custode quieti* - you are the guardian of peace) One bird watches and guards the others as they sleep, as does your Guardian Angel.

58. la Penitence [penitence] (*flectitur et rorat* - it bends and dew falls) Here the emblems of the Last Things of the Life of Man begin. A rainbow curves before the sun and a gentle rain falls. Man bows down before his God and weeps over his regrets.

59. l'impenitence finale [final impenitence] (*quo vergit cadet* - by which he will fall) Contrasted with the preceding, here is a tree about to fall off a cliff. Impenitence at the end leads to Hell. The impenitent sinner must mend his ways before it is too late.

60. le viatique [the viaticum] (*j dabit illa quod optas* - it will give you what you wish) The viaticum [the last Sacrament given to a dying person] is likened to a letter of change carried by the traveller.

61. l'Extreme Onction [extreme unction] (*ab his audacior armis* - from these weapons comes more daring) A dog wears a spiked iron collar and dares face any enemy. Anointing with holy oils defends against the final enemies.

62. la Tentation [temptation] (*non impune laccessor* - I am not attacked unpunished) A porcupine repels the attack of a dog. So may temptations be repelled by faith.

63. la Grace finale [final Grace] (*ruam sine te* - I shall fall without you) The keystone of an arch - without which the arch will fall. All virtues and merits fail without God's Grace.

64. la Mort [Death] (*secat aequae* - it cuts equally) A field is being harvested with a scythe - it cuts down all, whether low or high.

65. la bonne Mort [a good death] (*spirat ad huc* - it still breathes here) A good death is represented by a rose, which - though plucked - remains sweet.



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66. la mauvaise Mort [a bad death] (*tanto de lumine foetor* – it stinks so much after the light)

A firework rocket explodes with flash of light but leaves nothing but the stink.

67. les jugemens de Dieu [the judgement of God] (*cuique suum reddit* – to each he gives his own) The judgement of God is represented by a mirror in which one sees oneself.

68. le Purgatoire [Purgatory] (*reddar ut normae decorique primo* – to return it to its original beauty). A rod of iron is heated in the furnace and reshaped by the hammer and anvil. The punishments of Purgatory reshape and purify the soul.

69. la resurrection l'imortalité de l'ame [resurrection and immortality of the soul] (*in novum mutor* – I am changed into a new being) A butterfly emerges from the chrysalis.

70. l'Eternité [Eternity] (*in puncto totus gravitat* – all rests upon a single point) All eternity is a single point in time. Two spheres on a table each rest on a single point, representing the torments of Hell and the joys of Paradise. It is up to us, which to choose – but it will be for all eternity.

71. le Paradis [Paradise] (*quid jntus, haec sordes*) A palace in front of which pearls, diamonds and pieces of gold have been strewn: what filth lies in these! If God has given such riches to the sinful, what more must he have provided in Paradise for his innocent friends.

72. l'Enfer [Hell] (*luci in vius omni* - light is inaccessible to all) A closed well, where the rays of the sun never penetrate.